

Message Text

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MNUC, ENRG, NL, GW

SUBJECT: NYE MEETING WITH KOOIJMANS

REF: (A) THE HAGUE 1208 AND 1302, (B) STATE 48250
(C) BONN 4365

1. FOLLOWING NUCLEAR TALKS BETWEEN DEPUTY SECRETARY AND
STATE SECRETARY HERMES (REF C), JOSEPH NYE (DEPUTY TO
UNDER SECRETARY) MET WITH DUTCH STATE SECRETARY KOOIJMANS
ON MARCH 11 IN THE HAGUE FOLLOWING UP SUGGESTION REF A.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL TALKS COVERED CURRENT STATUS OF US
NUCLEAR POLICY REVIEW, RESULTS OF MARCH 1 TALKS WITH FONMIN
SILVEIRA IN BRASILIA AND MARCH 10 TALKS WITH HERMES IN BONN,
AND NEXT STEPS REGARDING PROPOSED URENCO FUELING OF GERMAN
REACTORS IN BRAZIL.

2. NYE EXPLAINED PRIMARY CONCERN IN NUCLEAR POLICY REVIEW

WITH "PEACEFUL PROGRESS TOWARD THE BOMB," HIGHLIGHTING ADMINISTRATION'S CONCERN WITH SPREAD OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES MATERIALS, AND REPROCESSING AND ENRICHMENT TECHNOLOGY LEADING TO THEM, AS WELL AS FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE OF SUPPLEMENTING NECESSARY SAFEGUARDS AND NPT SYSTEM WITH POLICY OF DENYING SENSITIVE NUCLEAR ACCESS AND PROVIDING EFFECTIVE NON-PROLIFERATION INCENTIVES TO MATCH NON-PROLIFERATION CONSTRAINTS.

3. NYE REVIEWED IN DETAIL EVOLVING US PROPOSALS FOR (A) BILATERAL, MULTILATERAL AND INTERNATIONAL FUEL ASSURANCES AS ALTERNATE TO NEW NATIONAL ENRICHMENT CAPABILITIES; (B) INTERNATIONAL SPENT FUEL AND STORAGE TO DAMPEN NEAR-TERM DRIVES TO REPROCESSING, AND (C) AN INTERNATIONAL FUEL CYCLE EVALUATION PROGRAM -- GUIDED BY A CONSULTATIVE GROUP OF STATES WITH MAJOR PRESENT OR PLANNED NUCLEAR ENERGY PROGRAMS, REMOVING SUPPLIER/CONSUMER DISTINCTION -- IN WHICH COUNTRIES SUCH AS NETHERLANDS, FRG, US AND BRAZIL COULD EXPLORE SAFER AND MORE RELIABLE ALTERNATIVES AT EACH STAGE OF FUEL CYCLE, NOT LEAST ITS BACK END.

4. IN RESPONSE, KOOIJMANS WELCOMED COMPREHENSIVE CHARACTER OF EVOLVING US PROPOSALS AND REMOVAL OF SUPPLIER/CONSUMER DISTINCTION. HE URGED THAT US GIVE CAREFUL ATTENTION TO INCLUDING IAEA SECRETARIAT IN EVALUATION PROGRAM, NOTING POSSIBILITY THAT AGENCY COULD PLAY MAJOR ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL FUEL ASSURANCE FUND SHOULD ONE BE ESTABLISHED. SECONDLY, HE EXPRESSED FULL AGREEMENT ABOUT IMPORTANCE OF MINIMIZING SENSITIVE NUCLEAR ACCESS BY NEW COUNTRIES BUT BELIEVED THAT THIS MIGHT BE EASIER TO ACHIEVE IF SENSITIVE
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TECHNOLOGY WERE "OFFICIALLY" AVAILABLE TO CATEGORIES OF STATES DEFINED ON OSTENSIBLY OBJECTIVE BASIS, RATHER THAN APPEARING TO EXCLUDE LDCS AS SUCH. NYE RESPONDED THAT BOTH POINTS WERE WELL TAKEN: US CONCERN WAS TO INSULATE EVALUATION PROGRAM FROM NEGATIVE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF IAEA BUT AGENCY EXPERTISE COULD BE INVOLVED AT APPROPRIATE STAGE. US WAS EXAMINING SAFEGUARDED, MULTINATIONAL ENRICHMENT CENTERS NEAR SOURCES OF URANIUM SUPPLY (E.G. AUSTRALIA AND CANADA) AS ONE WAY TO DEVELOP TECHNOLOGY WITHOUT PROLIFERATION RISKS, BUT QUESTIONS REMAINED ABOUT TYPE OF ENRICHMENT TECHNOLOGY THAT MIGHT BE INVOLVED IN MULTINATIONAL ENRICHMENT PLANTS.

5. NYE THEN REVIEWED RESULTS OF CHRISTOPHER/SILVEIRA AND CHRISTOPHER/HERMES TALKS, ALONG LINES OF REFS B AND C. HE PROVIDED KOOIJMANS CONFIDENTIAL COPY OF WRITTEN PROPOSALS PRESENTED TO GOB (AND SHARED WITH FRENCH AND GERMANS) AND NOTED INITIAL, REFLEXIVE GOB REFUSAL TO CONSIDER ANY ALTERNATIVES TO SENSITIVE ELEMENTS OF ITS NUCLEAR ACCORD

WITH FRG. HE EXPLAINED THAT WE HAD STRONG REASON TO BELIEVE THAT IF FRG HESITATED AGAIN ABOUT IMPLEMENTING SENSITIVE NUCLEAR ELEMENTS OF ACCORD, AND IF GON CONTINUED TO DEFER PENDING URENCO FUEL SUPPLY DECISIONS, GOB WOULD FEEL IMPELLED TO GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO US PROPOSALS. NYE REPORTED BRAZIL'S OFFER, TRANSMITTED THROUGH FRG, TO STORE EXCESS PLUTONIUM WITH IAEA UNDER TERMS OF AGENCY STATUTE. HE REPORTED US AGREEMENT TO CAREFULLY STUDY THE PROPOSAL, BUT NOTED A NUMBER OF DIFFICULTIES WHICH CAME

IMMEDIATELY TO HIS MIND: QUALIFICATIONS IN GOB OFFER; FACT THAT GOB WOULD HAVE ACCESS TO PLUTONIUM, ONLY "EXCESS" OF WHICH COULD BE DEPOSITED INTERNATIONALLY; AND ADVERSE INTERNATIONAL PRECEDENT OF ACCEPTING NATIONAL REPROCESSING UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS.

6. KOOIJMANS READILY AGREED WITH NYE THAT IDEAL SOLUTION
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WAS NON-TRANSFER OF ENRICHMENT AND REPROCESSING TECHNOLOGY TO BRAZIL. GON WAS ONLY CONSIDERING INTERNATIONAL PLUTONIUM STORAGE AS SUPPLEMENTAL, INTERIM SAFEGUARD PENDING OUTCOME OF US EFFORTS WHICH COULD TAKE YEARS TO COMPLETE. AT MARCH 7 MEETING IN LONDON, BRITISH WERE INCLINED TO AGREE WITH DUTCH THAT SUPPLEMENTAL STORAGE CONDITION SHOULD BE PURSUED, ALTHOUGH UK WAS REUCTANT TO PRESS HARD ON FRG. GON RECOGNIZED GOB QUALIFICATIONS AND DIFFICULTY OF DEFINING WHAT IS UNIVERSALLY APPLICABLE AND NON-DISCRIMINATORY. IN MEANTIME, HOWEVER, GON FACED THREE PROBLEMS: (A) FEAR OF ITS URENCO PARTNERS (FRG AND UK) THAT BRAZIL COULD CANCEL FUEL CONTRACT IF IT IS NOT CONFIRMED BY APRIL 1 RENEWAL DATE, OPENING FUEL SUPPLY FOR ANGRA-2 AND 3 REACTORS TO FRANCE; (2) DOMESTIC LINKAGE OF ENLARGEMENT OF URENCO ENRICHMENT FACILITY AT ALMELO WITH BRAZIL NUCLEAR SUPPLY DECISION, WHICH GON IS COMMITTED TO APPROVE ONLY IF IT IS CERTAIN THAT PROLIFERATION COULD NOT RESULT; AND (3) DANGER THAT IF DECISION IS DEFERRED BEYOND APRIL 1 IT COULD BECOME ACUTE ISSUE IN ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND OPPOSITION PARTY STATEMENTS WOULD FURTHER CONSTRAIN ALMELO ENLARGEMENT DECISION. MOREOVER, IF DECISION DEFERRED AFTER MAY 25 ELECTIONS, PARTY POSITIONS, IN KOOIJMANS' VIEW, WOULD BE EVEN HARDER GIVEN FACT THAT POLLS ALREADY SHOWED 51 PERCENT OF DUTCH PUBLIC OPPOSED TO ALMELO EXPANSION. FUNDAMENTAL GON CONCERN WAS THAT FRG WOULD BE FREE TO BUILD NATIONAL ENRICHMENT PLANT OF ITS OWN IF ALMELO IS NOT ENLARGED, BUT FRG WOULD NOT HELP FUND ALMELO ENLARGEMENT UNLESS FACILITY SUPPLIES FUEL TO GERMAN REACTORS TO BRAZIL.

7. NYE RECOGNIZED POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES FACING GON BUT;

POINTED OUT DEFERRAL OF DECISION TO SUPPLY ANGRA-2 AND -3
COULD HAVE IMPORTANT IF NOT CRUCIAL IMPACT ON GOB READINESS
TO GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO US PROPOSALS. EARLY GON
DECISION TO SUPPLY FUEL COULD REDUCE FUNDAMENTAL ANXIETY
WHICH MOTIVATED GOB NOT RPT NOT TO REJECT US PROPOSALS OUT
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OF HAND AND TO ACCEPT FURTHER TALKS. NYE REPORTED IN
CONFIDENCE FRENCH READINESS NOT TO PREEMPT FUEL SUPPLY TO
BRAZIL, A DEVELOPMENT KOOIJMANS WELCOMED. NYE ASSURED
KOOIJMANS THAT US STRONGLY SUPPORTED CONTINUATION OF URENCO,
AND REITERATED US SUGGESTION THAT GON COULD USEFULLY TELL
BOTH ITS URENCO PARTNERS AND ITS PUBLIC THAT ITS DECISION
SHOULD OF COURSE
TAKE INTO ACCOUNT OUTCOME OF ONGOING US TALKS WITH FRG
AND BRAZIL. WHILE INTERNATIONAL PLUTONIUM STORAGE MIGHT
BE USEFUL POLITICAL CHAPEAU FOR NUCLEAR SUPPLY TO BRAZIL,
IT COULD SIGNIFICANTLY IMPAIR US EFFORTS AND SET ADVERSE
NON-PROLIFERATION PRECEDENT ESPECIALLY IF ACCEPTED BY GON
PRIOR TO CONCLUSION OF CURRENT US EFFORTS. WHILE US CON-
TINUED TO HOPE FOR GON DELAY OF DECISION BEYOND MAY 25
ELECTIONS, IF NECESSARY TO SUCCESS OF EFFORTS, AT MINIMUM
WE HOPED GON COULD DEFER DECISION UNTIL JUST BEFORE
ELECTIONS.

8. KOOIJMANS EXPRESSED PERSONAL UNDERSTANDING AND
SYMPATHY WITH ABOVE POINTS. HE AGREED THAT THERE WAS NO
SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE IN NON-PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES
OF GON AND USG. HOWEVER, PROBLEM REMAINED INTENSELY
POLITICAL IN CHARACTER AND ONE FOR GON CABINET TO DECIDE.
NYE'S REPORT HELPED TO SIGNIFICANTLY CLARIFY MATTERS AND
GON WOULD BE ABLE TO MAKE MUCH BETTER INFORMED DECISION
AS A RESULT.

9. AS FINAL OBSERVATION, KOOIJMANS SUGGESTED THAT
PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON US NON-PROLIFERATION PROPOSALS
BE ISSUED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE SO AS TO GIVE GON BROAD
CONTEXT TO REACH POSITIVE POLITICAL DECISIONS. IDEALLY
FROM GON STANDPOINT, THIS COULD BE IN NEXT FEW WEEKS.

10. BOTH SIDES AGREED NOT TO VOLUNTEER INFORMATION ABOUT
NYE/KOOIJMANS MEETING BUT, IF ASKED, TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT
IT TOOK PLACE AND COVERED NON-PROLIFERATION ISSUES OF
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MUTUAL INTEREST.

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